

Bill Barton

The Language of Mathematics

Telling Mathematical Tales



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Barton

The Language of Mathematics

Using Mathematical Tales

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CONCLUDE: MAORI MATHEMATICS VOCABULARY

Context: The Maori language was adapted for mathematical discourse during the 1980s. Several issues arose from this intensive time of specific language development. The story of this development, with examples of difficulties is outlined.

Keywords: bilingual mathematics, Maori language, mathematical discourse

87. New Zealand. A warm, stuffy room in an old school building. A group of mathematics teachers have been working for a while discussing mathematics education for the indigenous Maori people. They have been developing mathematical vocabulary in the Maori language, and this evening they are working on statistical concepts. They are trying to explain the difference between continuous and discrete data to a Maori elder. Examples are given: heights and sizes; temperatures and football scores; time and money. The concept is grasped easily enough, but the elder must put forward suggestions for Maori vocabulary for use in mathematics classes. He does not transliterate to produce Maori sounding versions of the English words: for example, he might have tried *konitinu* for continuous or *tihikiriti* for discrete. He does try existing words for some of the examples that are given: *ikeike* (*height*), and *tae* (*score*)—these terms are not representative enough for the mathematicians in the room, and are rejected. Then he begins to try metaphors. At an attempt a short discussion amongst those mathematics teachers who know the Maori language quickly reaches consensus that the metaphor suggested will not do. Then he suggests *rere* and *arawhata*. Some of us in the room with only a little Maori understand the common meanings of these words as ‘flying’ and ‘ladder’. It does not sound good enough for us. But the eyes of the good Maori speakers brighten up. They know that these words as a pair refer to the way a

Information taken from a smooth stream of possible measurements, discrete data is information that can only have particular values. New technical vocabulary is born.

Although I became aware of the importance of language in mathematics education while working in Swaziland in the late 1970s, my first serious involvement in this area was as part of this group of teachers developing vocabulary and grammar so that mathematics could be taught in the Maori language to the end of secondary education.

Maori is a Polynesian language brought to New Zealand by the first settlers over 1000 years ago. It was an oral language, and was not written down until European traders and missionaries came to New Zealand around 1800. As happened in other places in the world, significant European settlement signalled the start of a decline in the use of the indigenous language through familiar colonial processes. However, in the 1970s, a Maori cultural renaissance began. As part of this, bilingual primary schools were established, although mathematics and science were still mainly taught in English (Nathan, Trinick, Tobin, & Barton, 1993). Bilingual secondary schools developed during the 1980s, but Maori children remained alienated from mathematics and science. One response was the call for mathematics and science education in Maori (Fairhall, 1993; Ohia, 1993), and a small group was gathered together by the Department of Education to develop a mathematical language for this purpose (Barton, Fairhall & Trinick, 1995a). The group included teachers, mathematicians, mathematics educators, linguists, Maori elders, and Maori language experts. They worked under strict guidelines laid down by the Maori Language Commission, (these guidelines included a ban on the use of translations), and an imperative to ensure that any new language retained its grammatical structures.

This was a very exciting time for those involved. It felt as though we were in a crucible of language development, and we were all engaged both linguistically and mathematically. Linguistically the challenge was to produce vocabulary and grammar that had new uses (as Maori was concerned) but that was recognisably Maori in its structure, denotations, and connotations. There was a lot of use of metaphor, for example using *kauwhata* for a graphical framework or for axes. *Kauwhata* refers to a rectilinear frame used for drying fish. Another vocabulary creation technique was to use standard grammatical constructions, for example using standard suffixes

an opportunity to resurrect old Maori words that had gone out of use with new (but related) technical meanings. The word *wariu* for 'value' had been used for many years, but was rejected as a transition. It was replaced by an old word, *uara*, that had fallen out of use but meant the value or standing of someone.

Mathematically, those of us with expertise in the subject were challenged to accurately explain the meanings and functions of many mathematical terms and concepts. This proved more difficult than might be expected, particularly for the very basic concepts. For example, words like 'number' and 'graph' have meanings that shift in different contexts and at different stages of development of mathematical understanding. We were prompted to construct a genealogy of mathematical terminology that showed which words were base words in mathematical discourse and how other words could or should be derived from them. For example, 'multiple' is a child of 'number' and 'multiply'. This genealogical tree was not always obvious, nor is it simple.

The whole process was characterised by a cycle of collecting the words being used in existing bilingual and immersion classrooms, returning the words and phrases back to Maori communities for their input, writing up the results, and presenting this material to the Language Commission for their decisions and ratification. The process was repeated three times over fifteen years, and the process and resulting vocabulary and grammar have been published in a series of papers and dictionaries (Barton, Fairhall & Trinick, 1995a, 1995b, NZ Ministry of Education, 1991, 1994, 1995). It happened that 'flowing' and 'waterfall' metaphors described above as words for 'continuous' and 'continuous' were eventually rejected in this process and replaced by words based on the Maori word *motumotu*—which is divided into isolated parts as islands are upon the sea.

So, was the Maori language successfully adapted to the teaching of mathematics? The answer is yes, ... and no. There is evidence that students taught mathematics in Maori are doing well (Aspin, 1995). Many students have been taught mathematics in Maori up to Year 13 (the final year of secondary school), but difficulties continue to exist in finding suitably qualified teachers (that is, those who are fluent in both Maori and mathematics), especially at senior levels.

However, those of us involved in the Maori mathematics language development had become increasingly uncomfortable with some aspects of our work. Somehow the mathematical discourse that had

oped did not feel completely right, but we were unable to put our finger on why. We came to talk about this as the “Trojan Horse” phenomenon: mathematics education seemed to be a vehicle that led to the subtle corruption of the ethos of the Maori language (Barton, Ball & Trinick, 1998).

One example of grammatical corruption had happened during the early development process. It had been difficult to translate the concepts of positive and negative numbers. At the first meeting with the Maori Language Commission a discussion had resulted in a very loose agreement on the part of the Commission to alter the grammar of the language and use the direction-indicating adverbs *ake* (up) and *iho* (down) as adjectives for the noun *tau* (number). *Ake* and *iho* should modify verbs, as in *heke iho* (fall down). But the adjectival uses *ake tau* (literally ‘upwards number’ for positive number) and *tau iho* (literally ‘downwards number’ for negative number) were to be permitted. Four years later, at the second meeting with the Commission, a member demanded that this decision be rescinded. She had heard children in a school playground extend this grammatical misuse into their everyday discourse. A child had been heard to say “*korero ake*” (literally ‘upwards talk’) to refer to praise. *Ake* should not be used in this way as an adjective in correct Maori language. Under her leadership, an alternative formulation for positive and negative numbers was immediately found.

Our feeling that we had more fundamentally permanently changed the nature of the language was finally confirmed several years later. One example that epitomised the problem was that of the grammatical use of numbers. Classroom discourse that had developed during the 1990s used numbers grammatically very much as they are used in English. However, in Maori as it was spoken before European contact, numbers were verbal in their grammatical role (Trinick, 1999; Waite, 2001; Waite, 1990).

What does “numbers were verbal in their grammatical role” mean? We were not familiar with numbers as verbs. A number does not seem to denote an action. However it can be. In English there are verbal forms of the numbers 1 to 4: I can *single* someone out. I can *double* my bet. I can *triple* my earnings—well actually I can’t, but someone else can be able to. A new school may even *quadruple* its enrolment in a few years. However, these forms are not the basis of our understanding of number. In everyday talk, numbers are usually used

adjectives. There are three bottles on the table. I have five fingers. There might be green bottles on the table, and I have long fingers. (Technically, however, numbers are not adjectives. They are usually considered to have their own grammatical form).

In Maori, prior to European contact, numbers in everyday talk functioned like actions. The grammatical construction used would have been like saying that “the bottles are three-ing on the table”, or that “my fingers five”. Just as the bottles are standing on the table, or my fingers wiggle.

Our awareness of this old Maori grammar of number suddenly changed when we tried to negate sentences that used numbers. The construction that ‘sounded right’ was not the same as the construction we should logically follow from the classroom mathematics course.

Let us look at this in detail. To negate a verb in Maori the word *kaore* is used:

We are going to the house.	=	<i>E haere tatou ki te whare.</i>
We are not going to the house, we are returning.	=	<i>Kaore tatou e haere ki te whare, e hoki mai ke.</i>

Unlike English, where negating both verbs and adjectives requires the word ‘not’, in Maori to negate an adjective a different word is used: *ehara*:

This is a big house.	=	<i>He whare nui tenei.</i>
This is not a big house, it is a small house.	=	<i>Ehara tenei I te whare nui, he whare iti ke.</i>

In Maori, negating number uses the verbal form, *kaore*:

There are four hills.	=	<i>E wha nga puke.</i>
There are not four hills, there are three.	=	<i>Kaore e wha nga puke, e toru ke.</i>

There was evidence that the classroom discourse that had been developed was against the original ethos of the Maori language. Numbers had been changed to become adjectival. While constructing dictionaries and glossaries of mathematics vocabulary, the verbal use of numbers was ignored, and a classroom discourse that treated numbers as they are in English was perpetuated. Thus the mathematics vocabulary process contributed to changes in Maori language use.

ss, and I was concerned about the consequences for bilingual
bilingual mathematics education. But also, as a mathematician,
curious about the mathematical concepts inherent in the original
usage of number. Would mathematics have developed differ-
if it had developed through languages in which numbers were
? More generally, I became curious about the way that mathe-
al ideas are presented differently in other languages.

began a search for other examples, and an investigation into the
mathematical consequences and the implications for mathematics
tion. I soon discovered that this material was not ‘lost’. Many
people—linguists, anthropologists, mathematics educators, ethno-
maticians—had recorded and discussed unexpected ways of
ssing mathematical thinking in many different languages.
ver these examples had not previously been considered from a
mathematical point of view, and only briefly had educational conse-
es been considered (E.g. Pinxten, van Dooren, & Harvey, 1983,
5). I quickly came to believe that there were important mathe-
al ideas to be found, and I began to change some of my views
mathematics itself. In addition, some of my thinking about
mathematics education was being turned around. This book is the

PRODUCTION

t: An outline of the structure of the book is presented, making the argument that the language we use for everyday mathematical ideas presents us with valuable evidence and insights into the nature of mathematics.

ds: mathematical discourse, nature of mathematics

egin the book by looking at the way people speaking different ages talk about mathematical ideas in their everyday conversation. up questioning some common beliefs about mathematics, its y, and its pedagogy.

e way we (English speakers) use numbers, the way we give ions, the way we express relationships, are all so commonplace t is hard to imagine any other way of expressing these ideas. ke for granted the structures of the following sentences:

There are four people in the room.

The book costs forty-five dollars.

Two and three are five.

Turn left.

Go straight on.

The sun rises in the east.

A dog is a mammal.

He is not my father.

I will either go shopping or read my book this afternoon.

t apparently simple English language statements turn out to be ssed quite differently in some other languages—so differently is often difficult to write in one language the equivalent of what ng said in another. Even when quantity is expressed in the est way—when we count—it is done in fundamentally different in different languages, as has been illustrated in the Preface. We t talking about just different vocabulary. Nor is it a matter of

y occurs in the way languages express numbers, the grammar of mathematical discourse.

The first part of this book explores these differences. In order to explore how other languages construct mathematical talk, I investigated languages as different as possible from my own first language of English. Distant languages are most likely to have unfamiliar structures. Unfamiliar structures are good clues in a search for different mathematical conceptions. Therefore most of the examples cited are from indigenous languages rather than Indo-European languages: the Polynesian languages Maori, Hawaiian, and Tahitian; the Euzker language of the Basque people; Kankana-ey from the Benguet region of The Philippines; Dhivehi from the Maldives; and Liberian, and First Nation languages from North America.

The first part also includes some mathematical flights of fancy ranging from the way various languages discuss numbers and shapes. Imaginings illustrate the possibility of different mathematical systems. However the main point of this section is to lay down the nature of language difference with respect to mathematical talk. To demonstrate the congruence between mathematics as we know it and English language. Other languages are not so congruent.

Part II discusses what all this means for mathematics. Does it mean that mathematics as an academic discipline with very powerful practical applications is somehow different in different parts of the world? A bridge designed using mathematical theory surely stands (or falls) in the same way independently of the country it is built in, or of the language of the person who solved the equations of its design? Why $1 + 1 = 2$ in Alaska, Nigeria, Tahiti, and Singapore? I argue for alternative answers to conventional questions about mathematics—where it comes from, how it develops, what it does, what it means. I challenge the idea that mathematics is the same for everyone, that it is an expression of universal human thought—and explain the questions about the bridge and $1 + 1$ posed incredulously above.

Another issue concerns the relationship between language and mathematical thought. Does the language we speak limit what we can do, and think mathematically? If this is so, we can infer serious consequences for mathematics if one language comes to dominate mathematical discourse, as English is doing within the international research arena. The question is wrongly posed. We probably do not want to focus on the limitations created by languages—languages are inherently creative as living structures to describe whatever we want

activity embedded in other languages. New mathematical ideas (or ideas given new roles) lie hidden in minority languages.

The third part of the book briefly discusses the consequences for the way we learn and teach mathematics. Can these linguistic insights into mathematics tell us anything about how we gain mathematical understanding? I make two fundamental suggestions. We should do more abstract activity, both in the early stages of learning mathematics, and when students are having difficulty. However, in saying this the nature of useful abstract activity needs to be reconsidered. A second major suggestion is that undirected mathematical play is a valuable thing at all levels of education from early childhood to graduate

level. Does a better awareness of the links between mathematics and language lead us to practical strategies in mathematics classrooms? Researchers have known for some time about the importance of talking, and the need for formal language development within the mathematics curriculum. And yet mathematics teachers do not universally use language activities. We re-examine the argument for these roles for all ages, and give some examples. In addition a plea is made for the importance of teaching about the nature of mathematics.

What about classrooms where more than one language is spoken, and what do the conclusions of Part I mean for students who learn mathematics in an unfamiliar language? Much writing on multilingual classrooms characterises such environments as full of problems. Without denying the complexity of the situation, the ideas in this book suggest that these classes have, rather, an abundance of resources. The question is how teachers can best utilise the linguistic potential in them.

Finally, having started with evidence collected from many languages of indigenous groups around the world, I end with a consideration of the particular issues faced by these groups with respect to mathematics education. A proper understanding of the link between language and mathematics may be the key to finally throwing off the shadow of imperialism and colonisation that continues to haunt education for indigenous groups in a modern world of international languages and global curricula.

For some time now, I have felt that many debates in mathematics education have been dominated by ideologies and theories, rather than

on a hunger strike, and people leapt into political action and acted with little regard for critical argument or evidence. I think that this matter as important and deep-seated as this, there should be evidence of a more permanent kind that can clarify some of the evidence. This book can be read as an attempt to interpret the evidence in this language with respect to mathematics and mathematics education. The evidence presented here seems to me to support a weakly constructivist philosophical position in that mathematics might have been developed otherwise, and a social constructivist mathematics education approach in that we develop mathematics in conjunction with our culture. However readers would be mistaken to think that arguing this position is what the book is about. The evidence is presented and interpreted.

Before we start, a short statement about what I mean by mathematics, and a few caveats. Mathematics is a tricky word, loaded, for many non-mathematicians amongst us, with thoughts of school lessons and textbooks and homework exercises. For mathematicians the meaning is richer, although there is considerable disagreement over what it refers to (Davis & Hersch, 1981). The problem for this book is that I wish to talk about mathematical things in general, and in contexts in which formal mathematics has no part. For example, as far as I am aware, in pre-European Maori culture, there was no area of knowledge or discourse equivalent to mathematics as understood in the West. How then can I talk about aspects of that culture being mathematical? The problem is circumvented in this book by mentally replacing the words 'mathematics' (or 'mathematical') with the phrase '(concerning) a system for dealing with quantitative, relational, or other aspects of human experience', or "QRS-system" for short. Any system that helps us deal with quantity or measurement, or relationships between things or ideas, or space, shapes or patterns, can be regarded as mathematics. My translation allows the word 'mathematical' to be used much more widely than just to refer to things in mathematics texts or journals. If I want to talk about the narrower, formal, conventional world of academic mathematics as it is practiced in schools and universities all over the world, then I will use the words "near-universal, conventional mathematics", or "NUC-mathematics" to refer to it. As an aside, I am told by sailing friends that NUC means "not under control" and refers to ships that have been abandoned at sea. Elements of this idea in NUC-mathematics will be presented in the following pages.

Chapter 1

THE POINTS OF REFERENCE

The way in which we talk about positions and locations is explored through several languages. The different way of talking in the Tahitian language is extrapolated into a geometrical system. The chapter concludes with a discussion of possible social origins of geometry as it is usually taught.

Keywords: geometry, space, coordinate systems, Tahitian, Navajo

The quest to find new mathematical ideas in other languages took first to Tahiti. The Maori and Tahitian languages are very close. Tahitian is still the first language of most Tahitians (unlike Maori). I was interested to find out whether the verbal grammatical structure of number that we had found in Maori (see Preface) was the same in Tahitian.

In fact the verbal nature of numbers is well-preserved in Tahitian. In other words, the Tahitian language is linguistically more conservative, meaning that it has changed less under the influence of contact with other languages. It has been suggested that Tahitian has better preserved its original syntax because King Pomare II had helped with the first translation (of the Bible), that is, a native speaker was involved. The first Maori translation, on the other hand, was a combination of translations by various English missionaries. Foreigners are likely to miss grammatical differences that are not part of their own linguistic landscape. An alternative explanation is that the Maori language has undergone less change compared with Tahitian because the colonial policies of the French in Tahiti were more assimilationist than the assimilation policies of the English in New Zealand (see, for example, Leach, 2003).

As an example of the difference between Maori and Tahitian, the particles *ka* and *kei* are used with all the verbal particles in Tahitian. In both languages, verbs are preceded by particles that indicate the tense and aspect of the action: *i* (indefinite past), *kua* (perfect or completed), *e*

ure), and *kia* (intentional). In Maori, *e*, *ka*, and *kia* are all used numbers, although *e* is by far the most common. There is some agreement about other particles despite recent grammars giving examples (Biggs, 1969; Harlow, 2001; Trinick, 1999, p. 106-11). In Tahitian, *ka*, *kia* and *kua* (in Tahitian the 'k' is replaced with a glottal stop) are all in standard usage (Académie Tahitienne, 1986).

While investigating Tahitian another feature of Polynesian languages struck my mathematical imagination: the way in which location is described. There was a feature of the way one might talk about the position of something that was quite unusual to my English-language experience. A Tahitian speaker tends to use both himself (or herself) and the person being spoken to as reference points.

Before we explore this further, let us look at how location is described from a purely linguistic point of view, and then look at it from a mathematical point of view. Finally we will bring these two together, and explore the implications of this Tahitian language feature.

WAYS OF LOCATING: LINGUISTIC FEATURES

How do we talk about location? The language we use depends on the situation. In English, in small scale situations such as describing people seated around a table, we tend to use phrases like "John is to the right of Peter", or "John is a little way to the left", or "John is sitting a long way from Peter". As the scale gets larger, for example when driving by car, then we use the north, south, east, west compass directions, "he lives ten kilometres north of the city". We also sometimes use another kind of reference, the position of something along a path, for example, "the house is on the road to the beach", or "the town is a long way from here". The use of these different methods of location description is discussed later.

Let us focus on the directional aspect of location for a moment. Different languages, and different cultural groups, use the various methods in ways that are unlike English usage, and some languages have systems that are not used in English. Australian Aboriginal languages, for example, use the north/south/east/west system in very local situations, such as describing the position of people in a room, or where a picture might be placed on a wall (Harris, 1991). At very young ages, even before they can speak, Aboriginal children are aware

any Oceanic languages use a geographic direction-reference system (Senft, 1997). This is a response to the dominance of some particular geographic features. For example, if you live on an island, *inland* and *seaward* have universal application in a way that they do not have in the interior of Mongolia. Rivers may provide another universally applicable reference, and, if you travel by foot, then *uphill* and *downhill* become significant when describing the location of objects or locations. For example, in the Solomon Islands language Longgu (Senft, 1997), there are two axes of orientation, one is East/West (determined from the rising and setting of the sun), and the other is inland/outward (since most Longgu speakers are coastal dwellers). In Oceanic languages, as in others, the geographical references are sometimes used even on very small scales, such as describing the position of two objects relative to each other on the table. They can also be used in larger spatial locations, such as describing the position of lizards on a wall. Knowing the direction of something is not usually sufficient to specify its location; its distance is also needed. There are many different ways of expressing distance, for example the formalised measures (meters or inches), localised units (arms-length or a street block), time, (a day's walk or five minutes' drive), or volume (a fuel tank's distance).

Knowing the direction and distance of an object is still not enough to specify its position. We also need to say from where the direction and distance applies. For example, the reference point could be the speaker ("John is sitting on *my* left"), or it could be the person who is being referred to ("John lives just round the corner from *you*"), or it could be another person or object known to both the speaker and the listener ("Madrid is four hours drive south of *Madrid*"). Most languages use several types of reference, although, as for directions, the area of application of the different forms are not always the same.

Polynesian languages, including Maori and Tahitian, have grammatical forms that make distinctions that are not present in English. In English we refer to *this* tree, to indicate that the tree is near the speaker, or *that* tree, to indicate that the tree is at a distance from the speaker. In Maori and Tahitian, we can refer to this tree (*te rakau*), or that tree near to you, the listener (*tena rakau*), or that tree distant from us both (*tera rakau*). In general, reference is much more egocentric in Polynesian languages compared with English, and takes much more account of the point of view of the listener as well as the speaker. This occurs to the extent that acknowledgement of the

WAYS OF LOCATING: MATHEMATICAL SYSTEMS

Now let us leave language aside for a moment, and turn to mathematics. The position of an object in two dimensions (that is, on a plane) is generally defined using the Cartesian coordinate system, so named after Rene Descartes (1596 -1650), the French philosopher and mathematician who first used it in an algebraic way. (Coordinate systems of this kind were known earlier than this: Archimedes and Ptolemy both used versions of this system in 200BC). From a fixed origin, two reference lines, or axes, are drawn at right angles. The position of a point is determined by two measurements: the first measurement is the distance along the horizontal line, and the second measurement is the distance along the vertical one. The distance is positive if it is to the right or upwards, and negative if it is to the left or downwards (see Figure 1-1).

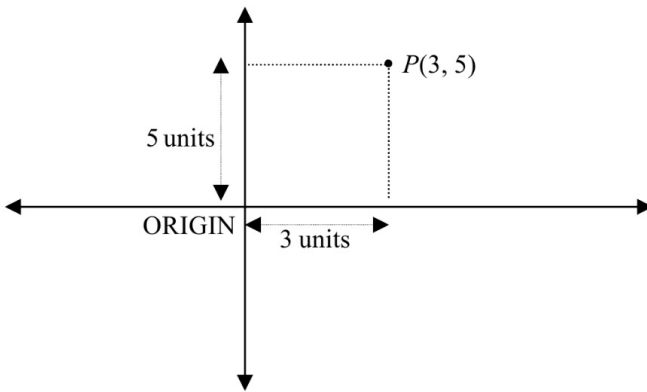


Figure 1-1. Cartesian Coordinate System

The second common way that position is determined, the Polar coordinate system, also uses a single origin, but only one reference line. The development of this system is usually attributed to Newton and Bernoulli, but some version of it is present in the work of Kepler. The position of a point in this system is also determined by two measurements: one is the distance of the point from the origin, the other is the angle between the reference line and the line joining the point and the origin. The angle is positive if it is in an anticlockwise